

國際陽明學研究

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The Song Ming lixue Interpretation of Mozi: How Great was Mencius' Influence?

Carine Defoort*

【摘要】當代學者常以“十論”，特別是“兼愛”主張，來描述墨子思想。儘管這一詮釋有其傳統依據，這個傳統似乎也是建立在《孟子》對墨子的評價之上。本文嘗試追溯這個詮釋傳統自戰國以降的發展，並聚焦於韓愈與王陽明對墨子的看法。這兩位著名的儒者一方面繼承了《孟子》對墨子“兼愛”的批評，另一方面也提出不同的見解。他們對墨子的批評看似與《孟子》一致，但實際上是藉由《孟子》來批判他們所處時代的“邪說”。

1. The Warring States period

The only Warring States source that exclusively associates Mozi with *jian ai* and vice versa, is *Mencius* (ca. 371 – 289 BCE). He laments that:

The claims of Yang Zhu and Mo Di fill the world. All claims made in the world either revert to Yang or to Mo. Mr. Yang is for oneself, which

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amounts to having no lord; Mr. Mo cares for all, which amounts to having no father. To have neither a lord nor a father is something for beasts. 楊朱墨翟之言盈天下，天下之言不歸楊，則歸墨。楊氏為我，是無君也；墨氏兼愛，是無父也。無父無君，是禽獸也。（*Mencius*, 3B9）

One other *Mencius* fragment also identifies the two heretics with exactly the same mottoes: Yang with *wei wo* versus Mo with *jian ai*:

Yangzi chooses “for oneself”: even if he could benefit the world by pulling out one hair, he would not do it. Mozi for “inclusive care”: if by rubbing his head bald and showing [the flesh of] his heels he could benefit the world, he would do it. 楊子取為我，拔一毛而利天下，不為也；墨子兼愛，摩頂放踵利天下，為之。（*Mencius*, 7A26）

These two fragments share three characteristics: (1) they exclusively associate Mozi with *jian ai* and vice versa, (2) they consider this a threat to order, to humanity, and to Ru morality for “not having/respecting a father”, and (3) they oppose Mozi’s views to the egoism of Yang Zhu, who is considered equally bad for “not having/respecting a lord.” This small discourse-cluster on Mozi seems to have been transmitted as a solidified item throughout the Chinese corpus during at least 20 centuries. The book *Mencius* contains only two other explicit references to Mo: even though the expression *jian ai* does not occur in either of these fragments, it seems to be implicitly present: in one case only indirectly in mentioning the rivalry between Ru and Mo (*Mencius*, 7B26); in the other case directly in the Mohist’s reference to the ancients whose “care had no gradations” 愛無差等. (*Mencius*, 3A5) The Mohist interlocutor hereby suggests that the sages of antiquity admired by the Ru, were also in favour of inclusive care, or care without gradations. Other reflections in the *Mencius* about “being inclusive” (*jian*) and “caring” (*ai*) confirm the shared interest of the authors of the *Mozi* and the *Mencius* in this topic (e. g. *Mencius*, 6A14, 7A9, 7A46, 7B1).

Mozi is the only other Warring States source that somewhat exclusively associates Master Mo’s thought with *jian ai*, although far less dominantly than usually thought. Aside from the three chapter titles (to chapters 14, 15 and 16: 兼愛上、中、下), which might have been added to the text as late as the Han dynasty, the expression *jian ai* occurs only ten times in the text, one of which in the last “Jian ai” chapter.

The “Great Oath” says: “King Wen was like sun and moon, spreading and shining his light over the four quarters and the Western region.” This says that King Wen’s impartial caring for the world was broad and great. He is being compared to how sun and moon are impartial in their shining over the world. This is the inclusiveness of King Wen. Even what our Master Mozi called “inclusive” was taken from the example of King Wen. 《泰誓》曰：“文王若日若月乍照，光于四方，於西土。”即此言文王之兼愛天下之博大也，譬之日月兼照天下之無有私也，即此文王兼也。雖子墨子之所謂兼者，於文王取法焉。（16: 29/1–3）^①

The two first “Jian ai” chapters (上、中) do not contain this expression at all; and the expression “care for others” (愛人 *ai ren*) is much more current in the book *Mozi* (48 times) than *jian ai*. The fact that the book *Mozi* has evolved during several centuries in the hands of various authors leads us to consider the following suggestion: Perhaps the original Mohist plea was to “care for others” (*ai ren*) an ideal that after a while (around the late 4th century BCE) became first specified and then solidified as “inclusive care” (*jian ai*). We cannot even exclude the possibility that Mencius’ description of his rivals has had some

^① Except when specific fragments are commonly recognized by a number (e. g., *Lunyu*, 1.2, *Laozi*, 24, and *Mengzi* 3A9), all quotes of Chinese masters refer to Lau, *ICS Ancient Chinese Texts Concordance Series* (Hong Kong: Commercial Press 1995 –): the chapter number is given first, followed by a colon and then the page number and line number separated by a slash. Quotes from dynastic histories are to the Zhonghua shuju edition.

influence on the early Mohist identification of *jian ai* as their fixed motto. ^①

In all other Warring States sources the association of Mozi with the exact motto *jian ai* is far less exclusive. *Xunzi*, for instance, makes no connection whatsoever between “Mo” and “inclusive care.” What is more, “inclusive care” is considered positive and used as an uncontested expression in running text. In “Fu guo” 富國, for instance, *Xunzi* argues that the people’s welfare is the ruler’s responsibility:

As for inclusively protecting them, inclusively caring for them, and inclusively regulating them, to make sure that even in times of a failed harvest, floods and drought the people escape the disasters of cold and hunger, this is the task of the sagely lord and his worthy chancellor. 若夫兼而覆之, 兼而愛之, 兼而制之, 歲雖凶敗水旱, 使百姓無凍餒之患, 則是聖君賢相之事也。(10: 44/17–18; see also 兼而愛 in 25: 121/8)

The mottos that *Xunzi* does associate with Mo are “elevating merit and utility” 上功用, “making much of frugality and temperance” 大儉約, and “neglecting gradations and rankings” 優差等 (6: 21/19), being “against music” 非樂, in favour of “moderating expenses” 節用, “elevating frugality” 尚儉, and being “against fighting” 非鬥 (10: 45/6–46/2).

Nor is the association of Mo and “inclusive care” present in other early source where one would most expect it, namely in *Hanfeizi*’s well-known “Xian xue” (Eminent Learning) chapter describing the Mo, or in *Mozi*’s “Fei Ru” opposing Ru to Mo ideas. The identification of Mo with *jian ai* and vice versa is very inconsistent in the early sources. *Zhuangzi*, for instance, once associates the Mohists (*Mozhe*) exclusively with it (29: 89/16), but elsewhere he also

^① For a fuller argument, see Yoshihaga Shinjiro 吉永真二郎, “*Jian ai* shi shenme: *Jian ai* gainian de xingcheng he fazhan” 兼愛是什麼——兼愛概念的形和發展. *Ha'erbin shizhuan xuebao* 哈爾濱師專學報 (1999: 4): 31–34 and Defoort, Carine, “Are the Three ‘Jian ai’ Chapters about Universal Love?” In *The “Mozi” as an Evolving Text: Different Voices in Early Chinese Thought*, eds. Carine Defoort and Nicolas Standaert, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013, 35–67.

characterizes Mozi with other mottos, (33: 98/7) and he even once attributes the ideal of “inclusive care” much more emphatically to Kongzi! (13: 36/14–15) The expression *jian ai* only occurs once in the *Hanfeizi*, where it is without any tinge of challenge or controversy ascribed to the Ru and Mo together. (49: 146/20) And while *Guanzi* is once critical about *jian ai*, implicitly attributed to a group of Mohists (4: 9/23), he also uses the expression in a positive sense (chs. 7 “Ban fa” and 66 “Ban fa jie”), as do many other sources that mostly date in the Han or later (see below).

To conclude, in pre-Han sources, only Mencius *explicitly and exclusively* associates Mo with “inclusive care.” In the book *Mozi*, the identification is also clear but, of course, not exclusive. Moreover, the *Mozi* may have received Mencius’ influence since the precise dating of (the parts of) both books is uncertain. All other sources not only differ from Mencius but even ignore him. In these early sources, Mozi is associated with a variety of mottos or slogans; and *jian ai* is not considered exclusively Mohist, nor negative, nor neatly opposed to Yang Zhu’s thought. When then did Mencius’ view become so influential? It started relatively late in the Han dynasty. ^①

2. The Qin and Han dynasties

The data presented thus far might shed some doubt on the intellectual or theoretical distinctiveness of early Mohism in the pre-Han period. Traditionally the Han dynasty is regarded as the period when Mohism disappeared as an independent school and saw its ideas merged into mainstream Ru thought. During the Qin and Han, I tentatively trace the following threefold evolution concerning the presentation of Mozi in relation to *jian ai*, depending on the (often uncertain) dates of the sources: in Qin and Han there is (1) an

^① For a fuller argument, see Carine Defoort “Do the Ten Mohist Theses Represent Mozi’s Thought? Reading the Masters with a Focus on Mottos,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental & African Studies*, forthcoming (2014; online 2013).

increasing tendency to identify masters with core ideas or mottos; (2) there is a general, undisputed and unattributed appreciation of the idea of "inclusive care" in many sources; (3) there is an emerging tendency to quote Mencius' view on Mozi, which is the emerging solidification of the cliché view on Mozi.

2. 1. Lists and mottos

When early Chinese masters began to discuss other masters, they usually considered them as rivals or — toward the Qin/Han period — as partial possessors of the Way. One fashion of discussing ideas was by identifying oneself or other masters with a motto or slogan. We encounter lists of different masters as well as clusters of mottos identified with one master. Thus, I will distinguish between (1) mere lists of different masters identified with one motto, (2) clusters of mottos enumerating Mohist ideas, and (3) finally a combination of both: lists of Masters identified by clusters of mottos.

First, in the emerging lists of different masters including Mozi, *jian ai* is usually not explicitly mentioned, except through the corrections of modern scholarship! In the *Shizi*, for example, Mozi is linked with 兼 *jian*:

"Mozi valued inclusiveness, Kongzi valued the public good, Huangzi valued wholeness, Tianzi valued evenness, Liezi valued tenuousness, Liaozhi valued non-restriction" 墨子貴兼, 孔子貴公, 皇子貴衷, 田子貴均, 列子貴虛, 料子貴別圍。(1.10: 10/4)

Commentators hasten to add that 貴兼 here means "to consider 'inclusive care' valuable." They explain that "inclusive refers to inclusive care. Inclusive care is the representative opinion in Mozi's academic thought." 以"兼愛"為貴, 兼, 指兼愛, 兼愛是墨子學術思想的代表主張。^① In the *Lu shi chungqu*, another character (*lian* 廉) is often turned into *jian*, which is then explained as *jian ai*.

① Shui Weisong, *Shizi duben* 尸子讀本 (Taipei: San min shuju, 1997), 112, note 1. He also translates the fragment accordingly (p. 114). See also Li Shenglong, *Xinyi Mozi du ben* 新譯墨子讀本 (Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 1996), 5.

Lao Dan values softness, Confucius humaneness, Mo Di incorruptibility, Guanyin purity, Master Liezi tenuousness, Chen Pian equalizing, Yang Sheng oneself, Sun Bin strategic position, Wang Liao going first, and Ni Liang going last. 老耽貴柔, 孔子貴仁, 墨翟貴廉, 關尹貴清, 子列子貴虛, 陳駘貴齊, 陽生貴己, 孫臏貴勢, 王廖貴先, 兒良貴後。(17/7.1)

The claim that 墨翟貴廉 is usually considered problematic and hence inspires two scholarly moves: first, some suggest the emendation of 廉 to 兼 because the original fails to make enough sense;^① and then, some add the explanation that *jian* really means *jian ai*.

Secondly, there is a clear increase in clusters of mottos enumerating Mohist ideas. The book *Mozi* itself witnessed the emergence of such clusters; the longest is very often quoted in contemporary scholarship (but is remarkably absent before Qing *kaozheng* scholarship). When Wei Yue asked Mozi about policies, he answered:

Whenever you enter a state, you must select a task and work on it. If the state is in disorder, expound to them 'elevating the worthy' and 'conforming upward'; if the state is impoverished, expound 'moderate expenses' and 'moderate burials'; if the state overindulges in musical entertainment, expound 'against music' and 'against fatalism'; if the state is dissolute and indecorous, expound 'revering Heaven' and 'serving ghosts'; if the state is devoted to aggression and intimidation, expound 'inclusive care' and ['against military aggression.' Therefore,] I say: select a task and work on it. 凡入國, 必擇務而從事焉。國家昏亂, 則語之尚賢尚同; 國家貧, 則語之節用節葬, 國家說音滛酒, 則語之非樂非命; 國家淫辟無禮, 則語之尊天事鬼; 國家務奪侵凌, 則語之兼

① This emendation was first suggested by Sun Yirang, *Mozi jiangzu* 墨子問語 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001), 745. More drastic is to simply quote the "corrected" text as does Tan Jijuan, *Mozi yanjiu* 墨子研究 (Guizhou: Jiaoyu chubanshe, 1995), 55.

愛非[攻。故]曰擇務而從事焉。(49: 114/7-10)

This cluster is exceptionally long: it contains nine mottoes and has one (“against aggressive warfare”) restored in 1832 by the Qing scholar Wang Niansun. Wang explains: “The two characters *gong* and *gu* were missing from the old edition. I added them now on the basis of the text above and the ‘Fei gong’ chapters.” 舊本脫攻故二字，今據上文及非攻篇補。^① This emendation has been accepted by Sun Yirang and has since then been taken for granted by the scholarly community.

The eight other clusters of such mottoes in the *Mozi* are much shorter: they mainly contain three items, being “revere Heaven” 尊天, “serve the ghosts” 事鬼 and something related to “care” 愛, but seldom the exact expression *jian ai*. Moreover, only the well-known “Lu wen” fragment quoted above has *jian ai*; the same chapter also has a short cluster containing simply *ai*. Chapter 4 “Fa yi” originally had a cluster with *jian* 兼; the character *ai* was added in 1783 by the Qing scholar Bi Yuan. He explains: “Originally this character was lost. I added it on the basis of the meaning.” 舊本脫此字，以意增。^② The chapter “Shang xian zhong” has a cluster with *jian er ai*; “Fei ming shang” has *jian xiang ai*; and in “Tian zhi shang” as well twice in “Gongmeng” the cluster speaks of *ai ren*. I will not deny that the Mohist authors argue in favor of an increasingly inclusive type of “care,” but the fixation of the exact motto *jian ai* is still somewhat tenuous.^③

And thirdly, while no other Warring States source other than *Mozi* attributes clusters of core ideas to Mohism, this changes in Qin and Han

^① See Wang Niansun, *Mozi zuzhi*, *Mozi zuzhi* 墨子雜誌 in *Mozi daquan* 墨子大全, edited by Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 and Li Guangxing 李廣星, vol. 14, 1-290 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2004), 207.

^② See Bi Yuan 畢沅, *Mozi* 墨子. In *Mozi daquan* 墨子大全, edited by Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 and Li Guangxing 李廣星, vol. 11, 1-448. Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2004, p. 36.

^③ For the gradual emergence of such clusters in the book *Mozi*, see Carine Defoort, “Do the Ten Mohist Theses Represent Mozi’s Thought? Reading the Masters with a Focus on Mottoes”.

sources, where lists of various masters and clusters of mottoes are being combined. Mozi is discussed in terms of various mottoes, which are either identical or closely related to the ten well-known dogmas: Wang Chong e. g. focuses on “supporting ghosts and spirits” 右鬼(神), “serving ghosts” 事鬼, “simple burials” 薄葬, and “saving on utilities” 省用。^① *Shiji* characterizes Mozi as “strengthening the basic” 彊本 and “moderating expenses” 節用。^② The expression *jian ai* is also often mentioned in Han list and clusters. *Huainanzi*, “Fan lun xun” 汜論訓 presents a list of four disagreeing masters, each typified with a set of slogans: Mozi is characterized with four mottoes: “inclusive care, elevating the worthy, supporting ghosts, and being against fatalism.” 兼愛上賢右鬼非命 (13: 123/21) Another example is Ban Gu’s *Hanshu*, “Yiwenzhi”, which characterizes Mohism with six mottoes: the strength of Mohism is said to lie in “valuing frugality” 貴儉, “inclusive care” 兼愛, “elevating the worthy” 尚賢, “supporting ghosts” 右鬼, “being against fatalism” 非命, and “conforming upward” 尚同. But it is said to be blinded in its rejection of rituals and its incapacity to distinguish between kin and non-kin (30: 1738). We find a very similar cluster in (*Qian*) *Hanji*, “Xiao Cheng Huangdi ji er” (Annals of Emperor Xiao Cheng, II, written by Xun Yue.

2.2. Increasing appreciation of *jian ai*

The above lists and clusters show that there was an increasing tendency to associate Mo with *jian ai* among other core ideas, while *jian ai* was not present in every characterization of Mozi’s thought. If, conversely, we turn to the occurrences of the expression *jian ai* in mainly Qin and Han sources, we see

^① See Lunheng, chs. 20, 67, 83 on “supporting ghosts and spirits” 右鬼(神), ch. 84 on “serving ghosts” 事鬼, and chs. 20, 67 on the combination of “simple burials” (*bao zang* 薄葬) with “saving on utilities” (*sheng yong* 省用).

^② “The Mohists are frugal and hard to obey. Hence their enterprises cannot be generally followed. But their strengthening the basic and moderating expenses should not be abandoned.” 墨者儉而難遵，是以其事不可徧循，然其彊本節用，不可廢也。(130: 3289) and “Probably Mo Di was a minister in Song, he was good at defense and practiced ‘moderating expenses’.” Some say he lived in the same time as Kongzi; others say he was later.” 蓋墨翟，宋之大夫，善守禦，為節用，或曰並孔子時，或曰在其後。74: 2350.

that "inclusive care" was not at all exclusively considered a Mohist idea, on the contrary. Tracing *jian ai* through the corpus of early texts (mainly but not exclusively Han), we see that it was often used enthusiastically by a host of texts of different affiliation to express their support of a ruler's ample concern for his people. Some of these text are *Shizi*, *Lishi chunqiu*, *Sui Caozi*, the Mawangdui text "Jingfa," the Shanghai manuscript "Cao Mo zhi chen," *Xinshu*, *Da Dai Liji*, *Wenzi*, *Chunqiu fanlu*, *Taixuanjing*, *Qianfulun*, *Sinafa*, *Hanshu*, etc. They consider *jian ai* positively despite their different affiliations and contexts: it is treated as uncontroversial, occurs only once or twice in each source, and is advised to the ruler in his relation to the people. It is often associated with "humaneness" (仁 *ren*) and "having no bias" (無私 *wu si*), as in Gongsun Hong's advice to Emperor Wudi: "Your servant heard that humaneness is care." 臣聞之，仁者愛也。He specifies that "Bringing about benefit and removing disaster, to care inclusively and have no bias, I call this humaneness." 致利除害，兼愛無私，謂之仁 (*Hanshu*, 58: 2616). This phenomenon is often explained as the increasing acceptance of Mohist ideas to the point of their disappearance into mainstream Han thought. But one wonders how clearly and distinctly this idea was ever perceived as being exclusively Mohist and how soon it disappeared (think of *jian ai* in *Xunzi*). Was the exclusive connection of Mozi with *jianai* originally stronger than some sayings in the *Mencius* and some parts of the book *Mozi*?

2.3. Quoting *Mencius*

A third and relatively late Han evolution seems to be the quotation and continuation of Mencius' view about Mo with some of its three characteristics: the exclusive association of Mo with *jian ai*, an extremely negative view of Mo, and the opposition to Yang Zhu. For instance, in his *Fayan*, Yang Xiong (53 BC – AD 18) admires Confucius and Mencius while being critical of all other masters, including Mozi and Yang Zhu:

"In antiquity, when Yang and Mo blocked the road, Mencius spoke up and refuted them, like opening things up. Against those who since then

have blocked the road, I humbly compare myself with Mencius." 古者楊、墨塞路，孟子辭而闢之，廓如也。後之塞路者有矣，竊自比於孟子 (ch. 2 "Wuzi" 吾子)。^①

Not only does Yang Xiong's short claim contain two characteristics of Mencius' description of Mozi (the opposition to Yang and the negative evaluation), he also explicitly refers to Mencius as his own role model. A similar trait can be discerned in the *Lunheng*. Wang Chong (AD. 27–100) occasionally criticises the Mohists, but when he mentions only Yang and Mo together, it is always in relation to Mencius, and more particularly his moral obligation to speak up in times of chaos. In chapter 84 "Dui zuo" 對作, Wang explains: "If the teachings of Yang and Mo had not disrupted the transmitted sense of decency, the records of Mencius would not have been made." 楊、墨之學不亂傳義，則孟子之傳不造。In the same chapter Wang Chong also posits himself in Mencius' traces:

"Since Mencius was hurt by the fact that the arguments of Yang and Mo greatly diminished the Ru claims, he made use of straight explanations to praise what was right and repress what was wrong. While his contemporaries thought he was fond of debate, Mencius said: 'Why would I be fond of debate? I simply cannot do otherwise.' Well, I cannot do otherwise either." 孟子傷楊、墨之議大奪儒家之論，引平直之說，褒是抑非，世人以為好辯。孟子曰：「予豈好辯哉？予不得已！」今吾不得已也。

Another example is the *Fengsu tongyi*: when Ying Shao (c. AD 140–204) refers to Mozi, it is also while discussing Mencius' moral worth, his perseverance, and final success as minister of King Hui. In ch. 7 "Qiong tong" 窮通, Ying Shao recounts that Mencius was once in deep trouble in Zou and

^① In chapter 8 "Wubai" 五白 he criticises a list of seven masters including Yang and Mo. There seems to be no explicit influence from Mencius.

Xue, turned to his disciples to discuss the Odes, the Documents, and Confucius' thoughts, and finally to compose a book. He believed that, since there was no sage king, lords were doing as they pleased, unemployed scholars debated all around, and Yang Zhu and Mo Di's words were filling the world. If not to Yang, people all turned to Mo. But Yang Zhu's "for oneself" egoism and Mozi's "inclusive care" altruism all amounted to the failure to recognize either ruler or father, which as an attitude for brutes. Hence, Mencius felt a strong calling to save Confucius' Way from destruction and he spoke up to save the values of humanness and righteousness (*ren yi*) and to prevent humans from becoming beasts devouring each other. This is what Mencius considered his holy duty, and this is also the reason why King Hui of Liang, according to Ying Shao, made him his minister in the state of Wei. (7.2: 51/6) ① The whole fragment is almost identical to the fragment quoted above from *Mencius* 3B9 and hence contains all three characterizations of Mo.

Finally, Zhao Qi 趙岐 (AD 108–201), Mencius' great commentator, not surprisingly, also speaks of Yang and Mo along Mencius' lines. ② Zheng Jiewen remarks that Mencius' influence was somewhat limited in the Han dynasty, ③ but these examples show nevertheless that his depiction of Mozi in opposition to Yang Zhu was taken up exactly in the Later Han dynasty. Mencius' rejection of two rival thinkers became associated with his moral courage and ultimate political success. This association, I believe, gave Mencius' depiction of Mozi a strength that was undisputed during almost 20 centuries.

① 又絕糧於鄆，辭，困殆甚，退與萬章之徒序《詩》、《書》、仲尼之意，作書中外十一篇，以為：“聖王不作，諸侯恣行，處士橫議，楊朱、墨翟之言盈於天下。天下之言不歸楊，則歸墨。楊氏為我，是無君也；墨氏兼愛，是無父也。無父無君，是禽獸也。楊墨之道不息，孔子之道不著，是邪說誣民，充塞仁義也。仁義充塞，則率獸食人，人將相食也。吾為此懼，閑先王之道，距楊墨，放淫辭，正人心，息邪說，以承三聖者。予不得已也。”梁惠王復聘請之，以為上卿。（“窮通”，7 about 孟軻）。

② In his *Mengzi tice* 孟子題辭, as well as his *Mencius commentary*. See Zheng Jiewen, *Zhongguo Mo xue tongshi*, 215–216.

③ Zheng Jiewen 鄭傑文, *Zhongguo Mo xue tongshi* 中國墨學通史 (2 vols. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2006), 216.

3. Post-Han

Between the Later Han and the Qing dynasty is a very long period of almost twenty centuries, which I have only began studying. There is a longstanding claim that, because of the dominance of Confucianism in Chinese intellectual history, Mozi has been largely neglected, the so-called “demise of Mohism” theory (cfr. Sun Yirang, Liang Qichao and many others). But more recently there has also been a countercurrent claiming that Mohism has been far more influential than hitherto thought, for instance in debates on logic and in religious Taoism. Although it is not my intention to join this debate, I have the impression that current studies of Mohist influence are divided along this chiasm between believers and non-believers, which tends to simplify the data. “Believers” of Mozi react against the age-old demise-theory by insisting on Mozi's influence, the importance of his ideas, the circulation of the (complete) book named after him, and the liveliness of views expressed about him. Current Mozi scholars such as Zheng Jiewen, Qin Yanshi, and Lou Jin have indeed done much useful research tracing statements and references to Mozi in the imperial era. ① But because of this white-black frame, I do not find all their conclusions equally convincing. They have convincingly shown that Mozi was not totally forgotten during the imperial era: he was indeed referred to, mentioned, often linked with Kong 孔 or Ru 儒, praised or criticized, and sometimes even quoted. But claims that the received *Mozi* was continuously available to readers, that the book was very often quoted, that quotes and anecdotes came directly from the book *Mozi*, or that views about him were always inspired by a reading of the book *Mozi*, have not been proven. What strikes me is that even the most fervent believers come up with very few possible

① See, e.g. Zheng Jiewen, *Zhongguo Mo xue tongshi*; Lou Jing 樓勁, “Wei Jin Mozi xue zhi luechuan ji xiangguan wenti” 魏晉墨學之流傳及相關問題, and Qin Yanshi 秦彥士, *Mozi yu Mojia xuepai* 墨子與墨家學派, J'nan: Shandong wenyi chubanshe, 2004.

quotes from the preserved *Mozi* and also with little certainty of the book's content in those days. Moreover, various anecdotes and quotes may have come from oral transmission or other sources mentioning Mozi. One of these sources is the *Mencius*. Because of the extreme paucity of undisputable quotes from the received *Mozi* and the uncertain provenance of some quotes (oral tradition, other written sources, or *Mozi* fragments that have not been preserved), we cannot know with certainty whether the *Mozi* was available in those days or what the book exactly consisted of.

Without trying to address all the subtleties of the *Mozi*'s transmission during the imperial era, I will focus on only one minor topic, namely the possible influence of Mencius' short characterization on Mozi's image during the imperial era. My general impression on the basis of the recent Mozi research mentioned above is fourfold. First, the characterization of Masters' writings on the basis of clusters of mottoes continues throughout the imperial history, especially in bibliographical chapters. *Sushu*, "Jingji zhi", for instance, places the *Mozi* under the Eclectics (*zajia*) and combines the information from *Shiji*, 130 and *Hanshu*, 30 into its own description. (*Sui shu*, 43: 1005) But thus far, I have not found any such chapter clustering exactly the ten theses currently associated with Mozi's thought. The longest cluster that I have identified lists nine of them.^① A second remarkable fact is the recurrent reference to "Ru Mo 儒墨" and "Kong Mo 孔墨." Although the meaning of these two labels needs to be further clarified, it is possible that they do not attest to the success of Mohism, and even less do they prove that the book *Mozi* was widely read. A third point is that a small set of stories about Mozi seem to have circulated and were preserved in various sources: one is about Mozi crying at a crossroad, another contains reflections about personal influence compared to dyeing something with color ink (also preserved in *Mozi*, ch. 3), and yet another one tells the story of Mozi saving Song from being attacked by Chu (preserved in *Mozi*, ch. 50).

① See Zheng Jiewen, *Zhongguo Mo xue jiangshi*, 226–342. Even Bi Yuan only lists nine mottoes because in his edition, "lei gong" had not yet been restored in the well-known "Lu wen" fragment of *Mozi*, 49.

Considering the circulation of these fragments and the relative late date of some parts of the book *Mozi*, the source of these quotes cannot easily be established. The fourth and last point — the focus of this paper — is the enormous success of Mencius' cliché description of Mozi, including the three characteristics identified above.^② In what follows I will only trace references to Mozi by two important Chinese thinkers, Han Yu and Wang Yangming. My reading is based on no more than a quick overview based on a search in the Sikuquanshu database.

3.1. Han Yu 韓愈 (768—824)

When, after a long period of neglect, Qing scholars started studying the *Mozi* and breaking with Confucian orthodoxy, they all referred to Han Yu's brave and remarkable defence of Mozi in his short essay "Reading Mozi."^③ The mere repetition of this reference might give one the impression that Han Yu was a relentless defender of Mozi, but this is not really the case. In his collected works, *Han Changli wenji* (韓昌黎文集) containing treatises, exam preparations, letters, etc. I have found very few references to Master Mo. Most of them are negative and stereotypical, closely following Mencius in his characterization of Mozi as promoting "inclusive care," like Yang Zhu being immoral, beastly, dangerous, and calling for a courageous scholar willing to save the world. At the age of 28 (in AD 795), having for the third time failed the exam, Han Yu worries about not obtaining a position and writes to the prime minister arguing that the government should cherish good people such as himself. He claims not to care about a reputation but only to read the books of sages. The writings of Yang, Mo, Boedha, and Laozi do not enter his heart. 所讀皆聖人之書, 楊墨釋老之學, 無所入於其心。 ("Shang zaixiang shu" 上宰相書) Ten years later (in 805), he complains about the moral decline of his times in

① To give just one example, in *Nan Qishu*, "Gaoyi liezhuan", the teaching of the Mohist lineage is associated with *jian ai* and described as "rubbing the heads and drowning the head" (*Nan Qi shu*, 54: 947) which is somewhat reminiscent of Mencius' characterization.

② Reference to Han Yu's "Du Mozi" begins in the Ming with scholars such as Song Lian 宋濂, Lu Wun 陸應, Shen Jia 沈汴 (who is critical), Li Zhi 李贄, Mao Kun 茅坤, Qian Anzi 潛庵子, etc. ...

his well-known essay, "Tracing the Way" ("Yuan Dao" 原道), expressing his worries in very Mencian terms about people turning to either Yang Zhu or Mo Di (天下之言不歸楊, 則歸墨). His reference to Mencius is sometimes explicit, as in the "Thirteen exam questions-and-answers for advanced scholars" (進士策問十三首) where he explains that after Confucius, when the Way of the sages did not shine, there were Yang and Mo starting to cause chaos and attracting many followers (蓋有楊墨者始侵而亂之). In terms reminiscent of Yang Xiong, Han Yu adds that "Mencius spoke up and refuted them, like opening things up" 孟子辭而闕之則既廓如也。The same line and explicit reference to Yang Xiong both occur in a letter of 820 to minister Meng Jian, in which Han Yu expresses his preference for Confucianism above Buddhism. He admits that Mencius did not have a powerful position, but were it not for him, people in the central plane would all have worn barbarian clothes and spoken their tongue. Like Yang Xiong, Han Yu posits himself as emulating Mencius in his courageous fight against heterodoxy at the risk of his own life (嗚呼其亦不量其力且見其身之危莫之救以死也)。In Han Yu's days, the worst cases of heterodoxy are not Yang and Mo but Boeddhism and Taoism, which are booming, even though their inhumaneness is worse than that of Yang and Mo (唱釋老於其間鼓天下之衆而從之。嗚呼其不仁甚矣釋老之害過於楊墨)。(“Yu Meng Jian shangshu shu” 與孟簡尚書書)。What we learn from these references to Mohism is that Han Yu does not actively reject Mozi but rather refers to him as part of a culturally established model of moral (not necessarily political) authority courageously saving humanity from heterodox thoughts.

It is therefore not totally contradictory that in other writings, Han Yu's evaluation of Mozi wavers from mild appreciation to strong praise. At the latter extreme figures his often quoted essay "Reading Mozi". In this unorthodox appreciation of Mozi, all Mencian characteristics are strikingly absent: no reference to Mencius at all, no parallel with Yang Zhu, no exclusive link with "inclusive care," and no harsh criticism. On the contrary, Han Yu explicitly rejects the Ru criticism of four Mohist mottos: "conforming upward", "care for all", "elevating the worthy", and "clarifying ghosts" (儒譏墨以尚同兼愛尚賢明鬼): Since Confucius also defended these ideas, Han finds that the

agreements with Mozi exceed the differences. Therefore Confucius and Mozi need each other to fully realize their potential. (孔子必用墨子, 墨子必用孔子, 不相用不足為孔墨) Only later generations, according to Han, created the opposition between Ru and Mo by fighting over their divergence. ("Du Mozi" 讀墨子) This praise of Mohism seen through the lens of Confucianism makes even more sense if we consider Han Yu's milder praise of Mo and his characterization of the sages in what seems to be (originally) Mohist terms: exemplary men who worried about inequalities and disorder, who wanted to do good for others and save the world (閔其時之不平, 人之不义, 得其道不敢獨善其身, 而必以兼濟天下也); Han Yu cites the examples of Emperor Yu, Confucius (as sages) and Mozi (as worthy) (故禹過家門不入, 孔席不暇暖, 而墨突不得黔: 二聖一賢者): "How could it be that they did not know how to please themselves by making pleasure/music? They were really in awe of the Mandate of Heaven and saddened by the people being in dire straights." (豈不知自安佚之為樂哉, 誠畏天命而悲人窮也) ("Zheng chen lun" 諍臣論)

3.2. 王陽明 (1472—1529)

The stereotypical characterization of Mozi becomes even more dominant after Han Yu. Seven centuries later another great Ru scholar, Wang Yangming, sees Mozi exclusively through the Mencian lens. His even fewer remarks on Mo suggest that Wang knows nothing more about Mozi than the cliché portrayal of a heterodox thinker who needs to be blocked by a courageous scholar. While Han Yu claimed to have read the book (at least the edition that was then available^①), nothing suggests that Wang has ever read Mozi. The received version was published in the Daozang in 1447, but only became widely available in the late Qing dynasty.

Even though Wang follows the tradition of quoting Mencius' cliché portrayal of Mozi, he does not totally agree with it. For example, in a letter of 1520 he

^① Angus Graham believes that Han Yu read an edition in three *juan* and only 13 *pian*, perhaps one with the (now lost) commentary of Yue Tai. See Graham, *Later Mohist Logic, Ethics, and Science*. Hong Kong (Chinese University Press and School of Oriental and African Studies, 1978), 68–69.

points out that Mencius' criticism of Yang and Mo as not respecting father nor lord was somewhat extreme. Those two masters were also worthies in their age; Mozi only exaggerated in humanness (孟子闢楊、墨，至於“無父、無君”。二子亦當時之賢者，使與孟子並世而生，未必不以為之為賢；墨子兼愛，行仁而過耳。) Wang thought that accusing Yang and Mo of destroying the pattern and disordering constancy (此其為說亦豈誠滅理亂常之甚) and to compare them with brutes and barbarians (孟子則比於禽獸，夷狄) went too far (《答羅整菴少宰書》).

In “Conversations Recorded by Lu Cheng” (ca 1518), Wang's disciple asks him why Mozi's idea of “inclusive care” would not conform with Cheng Hao's well-known dictum that “The humane person considers all beings in the cosmos as own body.” (程子云：“仁者以天地萬物為一體。”何墨氏兼愛，反不得謂之仁) Wang's answer is nuanced and subtle, does not mention Yang Zhu, nor is it stereotypically short, but he nevertheless totally relies on Mencian inspiration to make his point: Mozi lacks the root (無根, cf. *Mencius*, 7A21), which starts out from the relation between father and son and germs from the human heart (父子兄弟之愛，便是人心生意發端處, cf. *Mencius*, 2A6). Wang insists that humanness naturally grows from a sprout (芽, in *Mencius* 萌) and first takes shape in filiality and brotherly love (孝弟, cf. *Mencius*, 6B1, 7A38). He even claims that Mozi's inclusive care knows no gradations (墨氏兼愛無差等, *Mencius*, 3A5), a characterization that only occurs in the *Mencius* and never in the *Mozi*.^①

Like Han Yu, Wang's real target is not Mo nor Yang, but the heterodoxies of his own days. Wang finds Mo an Yang far less harmful than followers of Buddha and Laozi. He also explicitly takes position in the Mencius – Yang Xiong – Han Yu line of courageous defender of morality. (孟子之時，天下之信楊、墨，當不下於今日之崇尚朱之說；而孟子獨以一人啖飯於其間，噫，可哀矣！韓氏云：“佛、老之害甚於楊、墨。……其亦不量其力，且見其身之危，莫之救以死也。”) Like Han Yu (and not unlike the early Mohists) Wang

① This last point could very well be denied on the basis of an objective and culturally undetermined reading of the book *Mozi*, which also supports many of these values. For a reading of Mohism in line with familial hierarchy and values, see Dan Robbins, “Mohist Care,” *Philosophy East and West* 62.1 (2012): 60–91.

is willing to sacrifice himself for the common good (嗚呼！若某者，其尤不量其力，果見其身之危，莫之救以死也矣！《答羅整菴少宰書》).

But Buddhists and Taoists are not Wang's only rivals. Another one is the successful Song Confucian Zhu Xi (1130–1200). Since the Way and Learning belong to everybody, not Zhu Xi nor even Confucius are in a position to monopolize it. Wang feels a calling to say what he thinks, even if that implies criticism of the great Song master (夫道，天下之公道也。學，天下之公學也，非朱子可得而私也，非孔子可得而私也，天下之公也，公言之而已矣。故言之而是，雖異於己，乃益於己也言。言之而非，雖同於己，適損於己也。益於己者，己必喜之；損於己者，己必惡之；然則某今日之論，雖或於朱子異，未必非其所喜也。《答羅整菴少宰書》) Wang even prefers Mo and Yang to some of Zhu Xi's followers, who he considers hypocrites and busybodies.

This quick reading of Wang Yangming's views on Mozi confirms the dominant influence of Mencius' portrayal throughout most of Chinese history, even though it was adapted to new times and other rivals. Mencius stood as a model of moral courage and authority, and his characterization of Mozi was part of this fixed image. Therefore, later scholars who, like Mencius, felt a strong calling to defend the morality of their age, felt like their moral hero who, in his own days, simply could not but attack Mo and Yang (予豈好辯哉？予不得已也). There was little interest in Mozi for the sake of Mozi; not was the book widely read. Only in the later Ming^① and Qing dynasties do we see the emergence of true Mozi scholars such as Wang Zhong 汪中 (1780), Bi Yuan 畢沅 (1782), Zhang Huiyan 張惠言 (1792), and Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (1894). They had the whole *Mozi* book at their disposition, they were well versed in textual criticism, and began breaking through the age-long Confucian orthodoxy. Not surprisingly, Mencius' portrayal of Mozi was their first and foremost target.^②

① Some Ming scholars studying the *Mozi* and quoting Han Yu “Du Mozi” are mentioned above.

② The presentation of early Mohist thought in terms of ten theses also dates from the late Qing dynasty. It was followed by debates about the relative importance of each of the ten theses, an approach to early Mohism which continues till today.